HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

Smog Over The Potomac: Naturally no one here knows whether the President will live or die during the next few months. No one knows whether the White House Palace Guard (to keep their jobs) will dare to prop up a sick man and run him again for President next year. But in this fog of uncertainty there are a number of matters — obfuscated by propaganda of various sorts — which are being debunked by percipient observers in Washington:

(1) Chief Justice Earl Warren for President? The truth is — he is solely the candidate of the Democratic "liberal" columnists. Why? Because his nomination by the GOP would cause immediate and peaceful harmony to reign between Southern and Northern Democrats. One Southern Democratic Senator remarked the other day: "If the Republicans were to nominate Warren, we Southern Democrats would back even Senator Herbert Lehman for President." Reason: Warren is blamed throughout the South for the Supreme Court decision in favor of desegregation (the hottest topic south of the Mason and Dixon line). Warren — a veteran in politics — knows all this and prefers to hang onto his lifetime and well-paid job in the Court.

(2) Can Ike name his successor? Those with memories here do not think any such move guarantees success in November, 1956. Ike — they remark — has never been able to transfer his popularity to other candidates. Witness, in 1954, his dramatic airplane stump tour — to elect 4 GOP Senatorial candidates. Three were licked by their Democratic opponents. The fourth — Bender of Ohio — won only because his Democratic opponent, slated to win, upset his own applecart at the last minute by alienating the McCarthyite vote.

(3) How about those late conventions? Len Hall, GOP chief, says that the late date for the GOP Convention (August 20) came about because television facilities now make it unnecessary for candidates to stump the country personally — a much briefer period is required today to do the job efficiently. Democratic chiefs mumble the same thing. The truth is — say observers here — that the entrenched hierarchies of both major parties fear third party movements. The late dates of the nominating conventions give revolters only about two months to organize, raise money, nominate candidates, and comply with various regulations for getting on the ballot. It's virtually an impossible task.

(4) Dewey for 1956? That's politicians' talk — is one comment. The politicos, when they talk up Dewey for president, are thinking of the preponderant power of the New York delegation in the nominating convention. They think of Dewey as the only Republican in the last thirty years who has been able (by me-too deals with socialistic blocs in New York City) to wield power in the Empire state, which has 45 electoral votes (266 electoral votes are necessary to elect). But the rank-and-file of the party regard Dewey as the reincarnation of William Jennings Bryan; as a two-time loser who seems intent on equalling Bryan's record. Bryan gave up after 1908 when he was defeated for the third time.

(5) Nixon? Only a failing heartbeat can make him President — is one blunt comment. Trouble is — Nixon crossed up too many of his friends in his ascent to his present high position. He turned against the Taft element which elected him Senator in 1950. He alienated the Warren element in California in the 1954 convention. He can't get the support of the powerful California delegation next year unless he succeeds to the Presidency by the death or resignation of Ike. Then he really would be in the driver's seat in the Republican

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Party. It should be said, however, that many conservatives infinitely prefer Nixon to Stassen or any other candidate of the GOP left-wing.

(6) Knowland? He's running as fast as he can — everyone in Washington thinks. He's seeking to rally behind him the McCarthyite and racial bloc elements which were disappointed by the Eisenhower policies of the past three years. Smart politics.

(7) Many political observers now privately say that New York, the big electoral vote state, is lost to the Republicans. Reason: the revolt of the McCarthy following which — grave omen — defeated Ives in 1954. Meanwhile, Harriman (guided by DeSapio, the Tammany boss) has been working hard to attract this McCarthy following, and with no little success, for the McCarthyites in New York were traditionally Democratic anyway. Even Mayor Wagner of New York City is playing the same game — he reputedly wants to run for Senator next year.

Stock Market: The argument among the kibitzers at Broad and Wall boils down to this: those who believe the bull market was an "Eisenhower market," consider the drop in prices natural, in view of Ike's thrombosis; those who believe it is fundamentally a "flight from the dollar market" think the stock recession will be short-lived. The latter point to inflationary tendencies of the Ike Administration — huge government spending and a deficit budget situation. The possibility that the Democrats (never deflationary) will return contributes to the bullish trend. The former say: "Eisenhower was friendly to business" and a Democratic candidate would not be.

Meanwhile, the smart boys are trying to adjust their portfolios to cover any eventuality. One of them, for instance, has 200 shares of U.S. Steel, now about 57. He bought it over a year ago at 52; it went up to over 100, then split — two for one. Now, this gentleman is selling 100 and keeping 100 in his portfolio. If inflation buoys up the market, he's got that bookkeeping profit, and meanwhile, he has taken a good cash profit in the 100 shares sold, suffering only a moderate capital gains tax. Finally, he has the cash to pick up any bargains that appear on the board.

Organized Union Violence: Over the past forty-eight hours, apparently inaccurate news coverage gave the impression that non-strikers in the Newcastle (Indiana) plant of the Perfect Circle piston ring company were responsible for the bloody incident by opening fire on pickets. Since the story did not — from press accounts — ring true, HUMAN EVENTS got in touch with its local correspondent and obtained what we believe to be the true story, as follows:

A mob of 1,500 CIO rioters, many imported from outside of the state, besieged the Newcastle plant on October 5. The local police made earnest efforts to hold back the mob, but were forced to retreat into the plant (where employees were working) under a fusillade of stones and bottles. When the mob then broke through the gate of the plant, turned over a car and advanced on the plant itself, management personnel deemed it necessary to fire on the assault troops of the CIO, in order to protect the lives of those in the building and to prevent the property from being overrun by the mob. The management, forewarned of plans for such an attack, had placed firearms in the plant with full knowledge of the local law enforcement agency.

Rifle shots were fired into the plant by mob snipers concealed in buildings surrounding the plant area. Four workers inside the plant, including one woman, were wounded by gun fire from outside. A house close to the plant used by the police — mistakenly believed to be owned by the company — was burned to the ground by the mob. Four persons in the union mob suffered injuries.

The company has three other plants being operated by non-strikers at near capacity at Richmond and Hagerstown, Indiana. The strike in the Newcastle, Hagerstown and Richmond plants has been going on since July 25. Until the closing

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down of the Newcastle unit, 2,150 persons were at work as against a normal employment of 2,300.

Governor Craig ordered the state police — called to the scene — to keep the Newcastle plant closed as long as there is any danger of disorder. (Union officials boasted that they had achieved their objective by the closing of the plant.) The Craig order is interpreted by labor experts in the Capital as an invitation to the Union leaders to close down, by violence, the other three plants.

Potential Democratic Candidate: Some thoughtful conservative Democrats believe that Representative Francis Walter of Pennsylvania should be boosted as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination next year. It is true that this state's governor — Democrat George M. Leader — has ambitions and will control the Pennsylvania delegation to the Democratic convention. However, Walter has a much wider national renown than Leader (an unknown until his election as governor last year), principally because of his stand on two issues:

(1) He is a fierce and uncompromising adversary of the Communist conspiracy. He has long been a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee and this session has served as Chairman of the body. Overwhelming votes for funds for this committee indicate its widespread popularity.

(2) He is co-sponsor of the Immigration Act, long a target of abuse from a loud minority, but which enjoys strong support throughout most of the country. Walter has been a militant and persuasive defender of the Act which he sponsored together with the late Senator McCarran.

Now is the time for booms and boomlets for the No. 1 place next year, among both major parties. Observers believe that if Walter's chariot should be given a push, it might roll surprisingly well.

Hoover: NBC Television, with Ray Henle, Washington radio commentator, as the interrogator, has recorded an extended, spontaneous and unrehearsed interview with former President Hoover. It is scheduled to be run in two half-hour takes during the latter part of October. Those of NBC who have seen it report that it constitutes a tremendous historical document.

What Price The Presidency? Senator William E. Jenner — for whom already a boom for the presidential nomination has started in his state of Indiana — decries the over-emphasis on the capture of the presidency. The fiery senior Senator from that state reiterates his position of 1952 when he said that "we can not deal with twenty years of Communist build-up by electing a new Chief Executive." In '52, Jenner spoke of Truman as the "head man of the Colossus on the Potomac" and emphasized that "big bureaucracy is a breeding ground for secretive operations," designed to destroy the Constitution. But President Truman, he said, was not the master of this Colossus; its "powers were too great for control by Congress, the President and the courts." Jenner today repeats that no other Democrat nor Republican could be a constitutionalist President, "unless the power of this gigantic combine, with its hidden Communist cadres, is smashed by the Congress of the United States."

The Indianan believes that we are in the grasp of a New Deal-Fair Deal *elite*, which the GOP Administration failed to liquidate, that this *elite* continued its operations after the election of Eisenhower and thwarted constructive policies in the last three years as they had formerly. Hence the success of the "appeasement" policy of sending President Eisenhower to Geneva. "The Soviet 'peace offensive'," he says, "is a propaganda campaign to undermine our military power by putting public opinion to sleep. We cannot have a sound military program to safeguard America, unless we can end the influence of secret Soviet cadres on American public opinion."

The remedy, Jenner insists, is to change Congress, to elect sound and courageous members to the House and Senate, and via congressional action to "dismantle the Colossus on the Potomac," by the power of investigation and the power of the

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purse. That, according to the "militant constitutionalist" (as he is called), is the initial and most important task. Then — he says — the power of the secret New Deal, pro-Communist *elite*, will be destroyed and constitutional government restored to the citizens of the Republic.

Desegregation: It is too commonly assumed that all members of the Negro race in America desire desegregation. One vocal opponent of the course resulting from the Supreme Court decision, is a Southern Negro writer, Miss Zora Neal Hurston. She writes in the Orlando (Fla.) *Sentinel*: "The whole matter revolves around the self-respect of my people. How much satisfaction can I get from a court order for somebody to associate with me who does not wish me near them? The American Indian has never been spoken of as a minority and chiefly because there is no whine in the Indian. Certainly he fought, and valiantly, for his lands — and rightfully so. But it is inconceivable of an Indian to seek forcible association with anyone. His well-known pride and self-respect would save him from that. I take the Indian position."

If Negro schools in Florida were inadequate or inferior to white schools, says Miss Hurston, she would insist on sharing the education in the white schools. "But," she adds, "if there are adequate Negro schools and prepared instructors and instructions, then there is nothing different but the presence of white people. For this reason, I regard the ruling of the United States Supreme Court as insulting rather than honoring my race."

This Negro writer suspects that sinister political inspiration went into the creation of the segregation issue. It is a mistake, she says, coming at a time "when the nation is exerting itself to shake off the evils of Communist penetration." She speculates that the Supreme Court ruling may have been designed as a trial ballon. If it goes well, she warns, "a precedent has been established. Government by fiat can replace the Constitution."

Education Front: There is no shortage of teachers — says the Indianapolis *Star*, which proceeds to debunk one of the major arguments of the advocates of federal aid to education. Most of the estimates of the proper number of pupils per teacher run somewhere between 25 and 35. According to the U.S. Office of Education figures, there were almost 900,000 teachers to over 21 million students in 1930 — or about one teacher to 24.2 students. In 1951, there were almost one million teachers to about 23 million pupils or about one to 23. But, says the *Star*, there are teachers who have to handle from 40 to 50 pupils and there is a real shortage of teachers in the classroom. What is the answer?

The answer can be found in a new and interesting situation, described in the *National Republic*, which declares that the classroom teacher shortage is "an imbalance between too few *teaching* teachers and too many *bossing* teachers." The country has about as many teachers per pupil as ever. But large numbers of these are not teaching classes — they are supervising, counselling, advising and administering. Figures show that between 1930 and 1951, the number of classroom teachers increased by 7 percent, while the number of supervising personnel rose by 85 percent. In short, non-teaching teachers increased in the country 12 times more rapidly than teachers in the classroom.

The *Star* concludes: "It would appear then that the solution to the 'teacher shortage' is to put more teachers back in the classroom . . . . It should be worth a try. It could save us millions of dollars and at the same time give our teachers smaller classes for better teaching."

Letter from JOHN J. ROWE, President, Fifth Third Union Trust Company, Cincinnati, Ohio: "It is my personal judgment that HUMAN EVENTS, published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., exercises sound judgment in its selection of essays on world and domestic affairs, and I feel quite sure that many of our friends who are not already subscribers would benefit by having HUMAN EVENTS cross their desk weekly."

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Article Section

THE REPUBLIC IN CRISIS

By JOHN T. FLYNN

THE UNITED STATES has never been entangled in so many and such baffling difficulties as at this present moment. We blame it all on Russia, on Red China, on our soaring taxes, on the rot of corruption and the blight of treason. But these are not the roots of our troubles. They are merely the symptoms and effects of an internal social disease — which is that we have abandoned the American system of government defined by our fundamental charter.

The structure of this republic was sharply blueprinted by the Constitution. It consisted of 48 small republics with great power within their borders, and one overall republic with severely limited powers. The total powers of government were vast, but so arranged and guarded that they could not be used to exploit or oppress a free people. In this form this great institution of order remained practically unaltered for 148 years.

The first wound inflicted on it was the granting to the federal government of the unlimited authority to tax every citizen's income. The second assault was made when President Roosevelt packed the Supreme Court with a group of revolutionary judges who proceeded to tear up whole sections of the Constitution by judicial decree to confer almost unlimited power on the federal government. The third blow came in 1938 when the socialist New Dealers, then in possession of President Roosevelt's mind, sold him the fraudulent theory that a public debt, unlike a private debt, is not a burden — it is owed by the people to themselves.

By a curious stroke of fate a European and Asiatic war presented the federal government with the opportunity to use without restraint these lawlessly acquired powers. With complete access to every man's pay envelope, with the unlimited power of public borrowing plus the literal blacking out of every constitutional restriction on Washington, the central government was enabled to ease us into war and to blow up — by a fantastic and malignant experiment in debt and taxes — the fraudulent prosperity in which we are now trapped.

The inevitable bankruptcy of the government, grave as such a disaster may be, is in fact the least of the ills toward which we drift. The greatest evil is the incredible shattering of our whole constitutional system — the lawless erection of a huge, almost unlimited central bureaucratic government equipped with the power to spend every man's income, conscript every man's strength, control and exploit every man's business and — saddest of all — plunge the youth of the nation into that malignant institution of militarism which has wrecked Europe twice in the last forty years.

To realize the extent of this assumption of powers by the federal government, we have but to look at a comparison of its expenditures in 1927 and 1953. These comparisons are made wholly between peacetime agencies:

	1927	1953
Agriculture Department	$ 155,584,000	$3,217,000,000
Commerce Department	30,383,000	1,063,000,000
Labor Department	9,800,000	300,000,000
Health, Education & Welfare	19,000,000	1,920,000,000

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One interesting comparison is found in the Office of the President. In 1928, Congress appropriated $585,000 to cover all the expenses of the President's office. In 1953, Congress appropriated $5,783,000,000 — nearly six billion dollars. These sums were appropriated to be spent by the President on whatever purposes appealed to him all over the world.

In the 20 years from 1913 to 1932, including World War I, the total expenditures of our government on everything were $84,000,000,000. In the 20 years from 1933 to 1952, the total expenditures were $700,000,000,000 — nearly seven times as much as during the entire history of the government from 1789 to 1933.

BUT IT IS NOT ONLY in the amounts spent — amounts raised and expended under the theory of continuous heavy government taxes and borrowing — but in the nature of the things on which the money was spent that we see how our Republic has been altered. By 1953, the total federal expenditures in a single year had grown to $74,607,000,000. This, of course, included the costs of the Army, Navy and Air Force, but some $21,000,000,000 of it was consumed in a variety of adventures in manufacturing and various civil and economic activities, in which the federal government has no shadow of right to engage under the Constitution. These included all sorts of manufacturing, construction and other economic activities along with the so-called paternalistic activities of the federal government.

It is impossible, of course, to catalogue in a brief space all the diverse activities in which the federal government has engaged as operator, partner or financial backer. European socialists, who worked to transform their societies into socialist heavens, adopted the strategy of building socialism one step at a time — creeping socialism. They saw the advantage of beginning with electric power, finance, transportation and basic materials. A government which controls our system of transportation, of electric power, our iron and coal mines and our banks has in its hands weapons it can use to bring every business enterprise in America under its control. No business can operate for a week without these basic materials and services.

The most important of these invasions has been the government's intrusion into electric power. It began with the pretense of protecting the Tennessee Valley from floods by building huge dams. Of course this does not protect the valley from floods. It has actually submerged under a permanent flood a large part of the valley which suffered from these annual inundations. The impounded water is used to pour over huge installations which are operated to generate electricity. Having begun with the Tennessee River, the government spread out to the Cumberland and built a number of giant hydro-electric plants in Tennessee and Kentucky. These provided insufficient power for the valley, so the government began building steam generating plants — eleven of them in Tennessee, three in Alabama and one in Kentucky.

This is not the whole story. The architects of the enterprise gave it a very significant name. They called it the Tennessee Valley *Authority*. The word "Authority" was chosen to mask their ultimate intentions. They have set down in writing that state lines are illogical — that this valley consists of five states and these must be considered as an economic unit in which all the basic enterprises must be planned and directed by a central authority representing the federal government.

Of course their plans extend to the entire United States and look to the ultimate extinction of the states. Over 2,821 projects in the field of power have been authorized by the government, of which over 2,000 have been completed. These have cost over 12½ billion

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dollars and more than 7 billion more of federal funds are to be expended.

INDEED, the federal government, once a mere central agency to protect the states and to protect the people from the states, severely limited in its area of power, has now become a vast operating administration consuming many kinds of materials and carrying on many business enterprises. It has become a manufacturer, a producer, a merchant. The House Committee on Government Operations in a report on this subject has warned that "Federal agencies have entered into so many business-type activities that they constitute a real threat to private enterprise, imperil the tax structure and are, in many industries, a step toward socialism." It urges that the federal government "keep out of competitive business enterprises."

The government's ownership of wealth has grown on an enormous scale. The House Committee reports that from 1929 to 1948, while private wealth increased by 78.7 percent, government-owned wealth increased 278.5 percent and that in 1948 wealth — that is, property, industry, funds and other forms of wealth in the nation — owned by the government equaled 27.3 percent or over a quarter of the total. The report says: "It is the largest insurer, the largest lender . . . the largest tenant, the largest holder of grazing land, the largest owner of grain, the largest warehouse operator, the largest shipowner, the largest truck fleet operator."

This report lists a number of industries in which the government carries on extensive manufacture:

Rope manufacturing	Metal heat treating
Tug and barge operating	Printing
Alcoholic beverages	Warehousing
Scrap iron and steel	Power facilities
Coffee roasting	Tire recapping
Box making	Paint manufacturing
Ice cream manufacturing	Saw mills

And, of course, as in all socialist activities, when the government runs business it runs it in the most expensive and least efficient manner. The Army, for instance, insisted it was economical to roast its own coffee — nearly 100 million pounds a year. But the Veterans Administration, which procures some five million pounds a year, buys on a competitive basis a better blend at a lower price. So serious has this particular situation become that the government is considering which of these activities it can curtail or end.

Under our Constitution, the federal government has absolutely no authority to interfere in public education in the states. The creeping socialist groups — the Socialists, the Communists and their various pink satellite allies — carry on an intensive drive to move the federal government into the field of education. They urge federal grants to public and other schools. Their purpose, of course, is to control curricula, teaching methods and the content of education. To do this, they have sought to induce local educational authorities to appeal to Washington for funds. The plan is preposterous. The federal government can get no funds for education or anything else save from the people in the states, taking money from the states and sending it back to the states as if it were a gift from Uncle Sam. Indeed, it is important that American parents understand that the federal government is really one of the greatest enemies of free education. It drains out of the pockets of the people of the states such vast funds for its political, socialistic, war-making and foreign adventures that it is difficult for the state and local governments to collect adequate taxes for their own needs.

Like all the others, this is a creeping invasion. In 1932, the federal government gave $33,402,000 to the states for teacher education. In 1951 it gave $137,355,000 for teacher training. It distributed $2,550,000,000 in 1951 for general education. It took huge sums out of the states in taxes — and then handed back a fraction for

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education. The government has no secret hoard from which to conjure taxes. Taxes can come only from the people in the states. And the federal government always takes from the states, no matter what the purpose, more than it returns. It seeks to bribe teachers and parents with their own money.

THE CENTRAL MEANING of all this lies in the fact that the nation is in the midst of a creeping revolutionary movement carried on not by guns but by stealth. It would not, of course, be true to say that all our leaders understand this clearly. They move along with the current in which they are caught because it carries them for the moment in the direction of some personal, business or social objective. It is part drive and part drift toward the collectivist state. And many of the leaders, who are mere politicians rather than statesmen, have little understanding of the direction in which they drift.

The intelligent political leader understands clearly that there is no such thing as a compact majority. There are only large minorities bent on pressing for their own special social or economic or political goals. And each of these minorities, individually, may not think of its goals as socialistic. The farmers, for instance, who have received over 6½ billion dollars in subsidies from the government, do not think of themselves as socialists, nor do certain big business enterprises which enjoy huge war contracts from the government, nor many of the workers in left-wing labor unions who are constantly pressing their demands for government control over industry. But, it is the politician's job, if he is to remain in power, to coalesce all these minorities into a majority, and with government funds or government favors to buy the votes of farmers, of workers, of business leaders.

It is not because they want socialism that these people acquiesce in such betrayals. They just do not realize that each of these adventures inflicts another wound on the free society. The system of free enterprise cannot sustain these huge tolls. It is impossible to collect enough taxes to pay the bills. Hence, the politicians who run the show turn to borrowing money from the citizens, from industry and from the banks. This creates a spurious prosperity which can last only until the taxing power and the debt-paying power of the government are exhausted, when the whole degenerate structure will sink down in disaster.

Here is a revolution taking place under our eyes — one step at a time. Each advance into socialism is made possible by some special benefit in money or legislation which will accrue to some gullible group. And, once this drift sets in, a most astonishing phenomenon appears. *The nation, unresisting, slides down the slippery grade into socialism without any Socialist Party being implicated in the adventure.*

John T. Flynn has written more than a dozen best-selling books on history, politics and economics, including *The Roosevelt Myth, The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor, Meet Your Congress,* and *While You Slept.* His weekly commentary is broadcast over the Mutual Network. He has been managing editor of the New York *Globe,* associate editor of *Colliers* and columnist for the NEA syndicate. He was adviser to two Senate investigating committees. He was a member of the New York City Board of Higher Education.

This article is an excerpt from John T. Flynn's just-published book *The Decline of the American Republic* and How to Rebuild It (Devin-Adair, New York, N.Y.) You can buy the book from HUMAN EVENTS for the bookstore price of $3 postpaid. Give copies to your son or daughter in college and to the libraries of your high school, college and city.

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